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SPEECH

OF

BARKLEY MARTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

ur Right to Oregon, and the Resolution of Notice to terminate the Joint Convention of 1819 *h Great Britain. Delivered in Committee of the Whole, February,* 1846.

E HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *February* 6, *the House being in Committee of the hole, the Resolutions reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to terminate the nt Convention of* 1819 *with Great Britain, ng under consideration:*

. MARTIN, of Tennessee, addressed the ittee nearly as follows:

ust confess that I am not wholly destitute experience in public speaking. I expe-, however, on this occasion, a diffidence er felt before. I should be gratified, could rely divest myself of it, that I might be with greater clearness, to communicate to ommittee the views I entertain on this im-t subject. In the outset, I will promise enter into a prolonged discussion on the on of our (the American) title to Oregon, e the able and learned member from Geor-Mr. JONES] has clearly and most convinc-maintained the validity of our title, not ainst Great Britain, but against all the . Our title has been most ably set forth r. CALHOUN, as well as by Mr. BU-AN, and by the honorable and venerable man from Massachusetts, [Mr. ADAMS.] w of which, it would be presumption in ke myself to attempt to elucidate, by a y argument, that which is so apparent to member on this floor, with only two excep-my colleagues, [Messrs. GENTRY and EW-At the commencement of this Congress, leman from Michigan; [Mr. CHIPMAN] ex-d regret at being a native of the State (Ver-of his birth. In that I differ from the r from Michigan, and with the member e, [pointing to Mr. BURT.] I was born in d, in South Carolina, and I glory in the my birth; the land of heroes; the land of e, Moultrie, and of Marion; the land of and of statesmen, whose brilliant careers d a halo of glory over her own institu-Sir, well may I glory in my birth place; is the noblest reflection in "*memory's*

Loving the land of my birth, it is reasonable to suppose that I should naturally feel an admiration for her statesmen and sons who held their seats upon this floor during the 28th Congress. That I should be led as a backwoodsman (as I was denominated by the Editor of the Washington *Union*, which I appreciate as a compliment,) to be influenced in the formation of my opinions upon this great National subject, by the action of those distinguished for their sound judgment, learning, and patriotic devotion to the honored institutions of our common country, is natural. When I learned that the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. RHETT] or either of his colleagues, was to occupy the floor on such and such days, I felt sure that my time-honored native State would be ably represented. When I saw my colleague [Mr. MILTON BROWN] voting for the amendment to give Great Britain notice to terminate the Convention of 1827, and then voting against the bill as amended, I asked, Was it right?—When I saw my able predecessor [Mr. A. V. BROWN] voting for the bill as amended; when I read the names of the gentlemen from South Carolina, [Messrs. BURT and RHETT] and a host of others, voting for the Bill that passed the house in 1845, and for the annexation of the Lone Star, I came immediately to the conclusion that Oregon was ours; that we should extend our law over our own soil, and give to Great Britain the peaceful notice provided for by the Convention of 1827. After mature reflection, and when before the people canvassing for the seat I now occupy, I took the bold ground contemplated by the Resolution now before this committee. Such were my views; such are still my views—and the determination has been strengthened. Other means having failed, it becomes us to march up to this question, directing the President to act in the name, and by authority, of this Government, and terminate the said Convention of 1827.

I prefer sir, and will vote for the Resolution reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, without amendment. If that cannot pass, then

I will vote for either of the amendments offered by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. DROMGOOLE] or South Carolina, [Mr. BLACK.] And last, not least—I beg pardon; and last, yet least, I may give my vote for the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. HILLIARD] notwithstanding the tendency of his resolution to increase the much complained of "*one man's power.*"

The honorable gentleman from Alabama, in the debate on this question, told us that he had separated from his political friends, with whom he was in the habit of acting, when he broke away from the bulk of that party on the Texas question; but that, on the question now under debate, he found a majority of his party with him; as well as a large portion of the Democratic party.

A large portion of the Democratic party with him! not, sir, with him for his amendment in preference to either of the others as above noted! Not a majority of the Democratic party for that non-committal Resolution which is designed to shift the responsibility from this house, and give to the President the power as argued by my colleague [Mr. COCK] to annul, repeal, or terminate the treaty of 1827, which treaty was and now is, the supreme law of the land! Entertaining a high regard for the gentleman, (once my near neighbor in Georgia) I would ask the gentleman if he did not, in 1840, and in 1844, oppose strenuously the "*one man power*"—the "*veto*" power—as provided for in the Constitution? I do not see the nod of assent—but I see the playful smile, signifying yea. We all recollect the hue and cry against the increase and extension of alleged encroachments upon the legislative powers, conferred by the people, by this "one man power"—it was the subject of many able and eloquent appeals to influence the American people to confer their suffrages upon one who had openly avowed that the "*veto power*" should be qualified, and that it should be exercised only in extreme cases. Yet, strange to tell, in this very hall, before the eloquence of able gentlemen, now members of the 29th Congress, has died away upon the ear of listening multitudes, one of that party comes forward, and, by Resolution, tenders to the President the discretion to annul absolutely a supreme law of this land.

Permit me, sir, to warn my friends, and tell them that this measure is avowed by one gentleman in the opposition, with frankness. If of good result, well; if evil follow, we will hold (the President) responsible before the American people. It may be the policy of the gentleman from Alabama, and the avowed policy of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. DELANO] by him so expressed, as to avoid responsibility; but it is not so with the Representative from the 6th Congressional District of Tennessee. In this result, great as it necessarily will be, the member now addressing the Chair feels, as he trusts every American should feel, a laudable am share in its momentous consequences.

My colleague [Mr. COCK] who has much credit from this body, learned as least it should be) in his maiden speech that this notice is a war measure. In s this, he calls to his aid the language w venerable gentleman from Massachuse ADAMS] used at the last session of the 2 gress, *who expressly declared that the n a "war measure;"*—and that, "becau of that character, and the war power pressly given to Congress by the Con the House had every thing to do with my colleague then vote for the amen the gentleman from Alabama, when he in the language of Mr. ADAMS, that it measure"—and "that Congress and not ident was the war making power"? My again said, "it is proper to give to G tain notice of our determination to abro Convention of 1827." Our determin abrogate! How, give this notice, b ing the amendment of the gentleman f bama? Surely not. Would my colle the President additional power? Such the fact—A power to declare war, if th ment is adopted—Is this in character creed of the party to define and restric tive power? The conclusion is the rev

My policy is, or Congress, in langua and unequivocal, to speak to England thr Chief Magistrate of this nation; speak provided for by the Convention, and tell the "joint occupancy," so familiarly u and *must* terminate. It is a peace meas so considered; it is so intended; and is ded by able gentlemen on this floor, wh the notice. Give, then, this notice, an expiration of twelve months, we are as by the treaty of Ghent, the rightful p of the territory, surrendered and conve by the British Government through qualified agent at that time.

This notice should be given, that t leges enjoyed by the subjects of Great B *American soil* should terminate—and citizens be more perfectly secured and in their rights of freemen to *American soi* this notice, that the way may be cleared into full force and effect what is contem an organic territorial Government. G notice, that England may understand, a that we are resolved to protect our citiz to occupy our soil, and to defend both, the energies of this growing young Rep

By doing this, sir, we encourage em we strengthen the people's love of free ment. Throw around your citizens the tion of your stripes and stars!—let th that they are under your laws!—that t not neglected, cast off, and you will h riers, which will be a defence against th der, who dare claim, dare seek to get a

American soil. Maintain our rights, pro- r citizens wherever they are, and you will the noblest patriotism—and the people y to arms, to the tented field, and to the field, against the savage foe, against this ttle, less, savage, civilized Government, nce whetted the knife, and gave the toma- to the Indians, that was reddened in the of our innocent and helpless ones. Maintain ghts; our citizens protect; be just to all, one; march forward and give the Presi- he power contemplated by the Resolution, r people will soon erect temples of justice; es in which to worship the living God, n the hearing of the waves of the deep- Pacific.

I have been particular in defining my po- upon this great American question, which ceive to be so closely allied with the growth erpetuity of our glorious institutions, that who have honored me with their confidence understand me thoroughly. I shall now pro- to notice the remarks which fell from several emen during the discussion of this all ab- ng subject, and generally to defend our try against the *jeers* and *jibes* thrown upon a nation by those who call themselves the resentatives of freemen, and who were so icular in depicting the strength of Great Bri- and heralding forth to the world the impo- y of this brave, gallant, and free people, who e met England man to man, and gun to gun, whose prowess is the theme of admiration ughout the civilized world.

n doing this, I will respectfully notice what from the venerable gentleman from Massa- setts, [Mr. ADAMS] and also from a gentle- from Indiana [Mr. C. B. SMITH]. What the gentleman from Massachusetts? "Give ce, and my word for it, I believe there will no war, unless President Polk backs out."

Mr. ADAMS.—The gentleman misunderstood

The CHAIR.—Does the gentleman from Ten- see yield the floor to the gentleman from achusetss, for an explanation?

Mr. MARTIN.—Certainly.

Mr. ADAMS.—I will explain. I said I believed ere would be no war; and that I rather believed, case of necessity, that war would be prevented the President's backing out. I said that I ap- ehended that if the country pushed its rights, I thought it ought to do, and hoped it would, reat Britain would yield: but if she did not, at war could be prevented by Mr. Polk's back- g out.

Mr. MARTIN.—I find I did not much misun- erstand the gentleman. The spirit of his re- ark was caught up by the gentleman from In- na, [Mr. C. B. SMITH,] who endorsed the timent. I would speak of the venerable gen- man from Massachusetts, with the profoundest pect and veneration. Very respectfully, there- , would I say that he is under a mistake as to the character of the President. I know his iron nerve: I know his noble bearing: his firm and determined purpose—cool, cautious, yet decided—and I feel implicit confidence that if Congress will but clothe him with the power to give this notice, he will do it, and not recede a single inch. The member from Ohio, [Mr. GIDDINGS] that young and magnanimous State, in the withering blast of his heated imagination, is at a loss for words sufficiently contemptuous to describe the President's pusilanimity. He says "you cannot kick the President into a war." Let me ask whence has this light so suddenly dawned on the member's intellect? Where did he get that intelligence?

Mr. GIDDINGS here rose and inquired whether Mr. M. wished a reply.

Mr. MARTIN.—Take your seat, sir, and keep your seat, sir!

The CHAIR.—The gentleman from Tennessee has the floor.

Mr. MARTIN.—I ask again, whence such wisdom? Whence such a sudden revelation? Permit me to remark that he too has misunderstood the character of the Chief Magistrate of his country, as well as the character of the southern people. I will tell the member one truth. When his black regiments—his odoriferous allies—the contemplation of which seems to g ve him so much delight, shall reach the south, the President, with the aid of all true patriots, "before we drink the dregs to be pressed to our lips," will kick not only him, but his co-adjutors, out of South Carolina, and hold up to the scorn and con——— [Here Mr. M. was called to order by the Chair.]

I will now (said Mr. M.) pay my respects to my honorable colleague, [Mr. COCKE,] for whom personally I cherish the highest respect. He seems, by some means, to have worked himself into a pet, and because he is a pet himself, he imagines, as a matter of course, that every member of the cabinet is also in a pet, and the President more particularly. My colleague says that, after publishing to all the world that our title to Oregon is clear and indisputable, the President immediately turns round and offers to give away one-half it; and then, because the British minister does not accept the offer, he flies into a pet, and withdraws it. Another of my colleagues [Mr. GENTRY,] says the President "huffishly" withdraws it. "Huffishly!" I appeal to the noble Tennessee spirit which I know inhabits the breasts of my colleagues, and I ask of them to say what the President could have done less? When Mr. Pakenham said to him, England expects a proposition on your part, which shall have greater justice and liberality, would he have had the Chief Magistrate of this great Republic to have degraded himself and the American people by repeating the offer, and humbly soliciting its acceptance? Would he have asked him to implore Queen Victoria graciously to vouchsafe one smile of approbation

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upon it? I scorn such a imputation on our Government as implied in the sneer. I for one would have denounced Mr. Polk if he had not withdrawn the offer the instant it was so discourteously rejected.

Is Oregon ours? I hear another sound coming from an honorable gentleman from New York, [Mr. CULVER,] who says that Oregon is ours, and that "there would have been none of this difficulty if the President had not swaggered so much in his Inaugural." I would respectfully ask of the gentleman wherein the "swaggering" consists? Is it in the declaration that our title to our property is clear and indisputable? Was this "swaggering?"—was this "arrogant boasting?" What, sir! has it come to this, that a Government that represents twenty millions of freemen is not to proclaim to the world that they hold their title to the soil of their country clear and indisputable, under the penalty of being stigmatised as a swaggerer and boaster?

My colleague [Mr. COCKE] says that the President proposed to give away a part of the territory thus indisputably ours. I put it to my colleague of the Nashville district, [Mr. EWING,] who says that he had no right to do this, and to my colleague from the Williamson district, [Mr. GENTRY,] who coincides in the remark, was it a fault in the President to do what is right—to offer what my colleague from the Williamson district is himself in favor of—the line of 49°? How magnanimous! how consistent! to condemn another for pursuing a policy, which we adopt and approve of for ourselves!

But I am told again that the President proposed to give away a part of our territory. I ask did he not most satisfactorily explain the reasons and considerations which induced him to make the proposition? With the highly laudable and patriotic desire of settling amicably and honorably the long pending question between the two countries, he had repeated the offer previously made by President Monroe and President Adams, and sanctioned by the approval of many of our ablest and wisest statesmen. It was made in a proper spirit of deference and respect to the opinions and acts of his predecessors in office. Had the case been entirely new, the proposition would never have been made by President Polk.

On the question of our title to Oregon, I regret to hear, for the first time in my brief career, an assertion on the floor of Congress, that the American Government has less title to the territory than had even been conceded by the British Government itself. That government admits that we have rights in Oregon, and a clear title to a part of that territory; and who is it that, in the face of this admission by the British government, rises in this hall, and declares to her, and to the world, "No, no; our title is doubtful—our right is doubtful." I regret to say it is one of my colleagues, [Mr. EWING] a gentleman who, of all others, I should have thought had dru[nk] deepest of the spirit of the Hero of the H[ero] age. Yet he tells us our rights in Oreg[on] doubtful—the American title is doubtfu[l] this in the face of the admission of the [British] government itself, of the validity of our[s] and title to a portion of the territory. [The] gentleman greatly risked his reputation [as a] lawyer and a statesman, in the hazarding of [such] an opinion; but I beg that the committee w[ill] judge of the gentleman's legal and profes[sional] standing at home, by the opinion so rashly [given] here. I can assure gentlemen that as a la[wyer] he stands pre-eminent in his district; but I [fear] that while he is so good a lawyer, he is so [bad a] politician. [A laugh.]

My colleague from the Williamson di[strict] [Mr. GENTRY,] goes even farther. He sa[ys] have no title—nor have the British any t[itle] Oregon—nor any rights there, and he we[nt] to say that the Emperor of the Celestial [Empire]

Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL.—The Celestial E[mpire]

Mr. MARTIN.—Well, the Emperor of th[e] lestial Empire, then—

Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL.—The brother o[f the] Sun and Moon.

Mr. MARTIN.—Very well; be it so. Th[erefore] tleman ought to be learned in these matte[rs] he is Chairman of the Committee on For[eign] Relations. [Laughter.] My colleague, then, [says] that if this potentate, the brother of the Sun [and] Moon, were to "locate" himself in Oregon, on [the] occupied neither by Great Britain nor Am[erica] he would, in process of time, get a title qu[ite] good as that of Great Britain or the United S[tates] *We* have no title there, nor rights of any kin[d] but he admits that the *British* have claims. [The] says that he is a farmer, and goes for a "str[ong] fence" on the parallel of 49° north. I am [also] the gentleman is a farmer, and a very good [one]. I was not aware, however, that Tennessee far[mers] were in the habit of running their fences, whe[ther] straight or crooked, on their neighbor's land on land where they had no right or title. I w[ish] inquire of the gentleman when this became [the] law or usage of Tennessee. It is with me a [matter] ject of deep regret, that the British governm[ent], and the world, should be told by a repres[en]tative on the floor of Congress of brave [and] patriotic Tennesseeans, that we have no right or title to Oregon—only a claim—when [our] right and title have been constantly asserted, [and] have been a subject of the deepest solicitud[e] the part of our government, since the adminis[tra]tion of Jefferson.

I will now call the attention of the commit[tee] to some of the remarks of the honorable gen[tle]man from Virginia, [Mr. PENDLETON] often [de]signated as the "lone star" (of whiggery) f[rom] that ancient commonwealth. I mean the gen[tle]man of the delicate allusions—and who heard [the] beat of the British drum all round the globe. The gentleman, I perceive, is not in his s[eat]; I would that he were, so that I might feel

liberty to say what I intended in refer-
is remarks. What did that distinguish-
man say? He points to the gentleman
chigan, [Mr. CHIPMAN] who is ashamed
rth in the State of Vermont, and he tells
o doubt the British government will be
larmed when it shall hear that two such
als as Gen. Cass and Mr. Chipman have
to take Canada in ninety days. There
than poetry in this remark. The Bri-
vernment is indeed very likely to be
but from another cause. The debates
Congress have gone forth to the world,
government cannot but feel some appre-
at the noble, patriotic and able speech of
, in another part of this Capitol. It
ation, doubtless, deep solicitude in Queen
's bosom, and she will anxiously inquire
Albert respecting it, and probably address
ewhat in this way: "My dear Albert,
peech is this?" and he will reply: "It is
ch of one Mr. Cass, who is a Senator from
of Michigan, who is going to take Canada
, and lose and win it back again, all in
ays, merely for the sport of the game."
een, amazed at what she hears, replies,
htingly, "I will go to Sir Robert Peel,
him who the man is. Sir Robert, who
an Cass, that makes this very furious
Do you know?" "Yes, may it please
jesty, I have heard something of him.
Yankee, but now living somewhere on
hern border of the United States. He
first man that entered Canada in arms,
war of 1812. He was the officer that
ded the first detachment that was engaged
British troops, and was present when
blood was shed, and the first man slain.
also selected by the American govern-
1820, to treat with the Indians on their
frontier, over whom we exercised a per-
ol, by means of our liberal subsidies,
rring that our Indians were holding a
with the British flag floating over their
proceeded immediately to the spot, ac-
ed by a single interpreter, reached forth
, pulled down the British flag, and
g it beneath his feet, declared it could
over American soil."* "Indeed!" "Yes,
please your Majesty, and this same man
long since the American Minister in
when we were agitating all Europe,
jesty remembers, about the right of
He wrote a pamphlet at that time, in
which changed the whole policy of the
government. But I find here the speech
er old man they have got over there—
man that was once Ambassador at
your majesty was then too young to re-
him—a little, old, short, chunky man,
ld head. That old man has always,
sions, opposed himself to what he con-

siders British aggression. I will not tell your majesty his name, lest the royal heart should be too seriously agitated." This information made the little queen very thoughtful for some days—but the next mail arrives, and suddenly a wonderful change comes over her feelings. She sends in haste for her princely consort, and embracing him joyously, exclaims: "Albert! here's news, glorious news for us. Our lion has been seen by one of the Hotspurs of the Palmetto State—he turns pale, alarmed at the object before him—and in the American Congress says 'I fear!' More than that, the member from the 'moral and religious' town of Boston, says it would be the use of 'brute force' to fight for Oregon. Good! very good! But, Albert, the news is still more cheering. Whilst we have conceded to America rights in Oregon, one of her Representatives from the State of Tennessee, has publicly, in his speech, contended that his own government had neither rights nor title, but only a 'claim' to Oregon. A true patriot, no doubt—but we thank him for his argument, as it strengthens our claim. And still another Tennessean—he who represents the district in which ANDREW JACKSON sleeps—makes an argument bold and fearless—what, for war? No—for 'masterly inactivity;' and tells Congress that their rights, by the laws of nations, to any part of Oregon, are doubtful; and in support of this opinion, he will risk his character as a lawyer and a statesman. We are ready to accord that his argument is complimentary to our claim; of his legal ability and statesmanship, his country will no doubt judge. And still the news is cheering. The 'lone star' has risen in the 'Old Dominion;' its brilliant rays are beaming across the Atlantic. He has proclaimed it aloud that the sound of our morning drum rattles round the globe; and the vigor of our arms has been tested in the triumphs of a thousand battle fields. The echo has reached our shores, that those sturdy and turbulent Americans have heard our 'ear-piercing fife'—they have caught the distant sound of our 'spirit stirring drum'—and they will awe those Yankee devils into submission."

Mr. Chairman: When these sentiments from the North and South; from the States that contain the remains of two of the most distinguished statesmen, as well as the ablest generals that ever led to victory the citizen soldier; one who in the Revolution heard the tyrant's "morning drum"——with fear? No, sir; such a supposition would be an insult to the illustrious dead. The other heard their "spirit-stirring drums" when but a boy in our Revolutionary struggle—with fear? His whole career, in youth and manhood—from the cradle to the grave—shows that the heart of that man knew no fear. The now-sleeping Tennessean, though he saw her lion, though he heard her "morning drums," saw and heard them without dread, but with a warrior's contempt and defiance of their prowess, and with a burning desire to avenge the injuries of his country upon her haughty oppressors. When these indications of timidity by representatives

*Schoolcraft's Narrative of the Expedition
ources of the Mississippi, pp. 137-8.

of the American people on the floor of Congress shall reach the little Queen of England, they will effectually erase from the royal mind every sentiment of alarm excited by the patriotic speech of the war-worn veteran and statesman [General CASS] in the Senate; it will be the signal for mirth and exultation, that the Americans "fear;" that a representative in the American Congress proclaims her "title to Oregon doubtful;" that another representative has denied that America has any "right or title" to Oregon, but "a claim only;" and that her drums are heard in the morning "to rattle all around the world." Sir, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. PENDLETON] need not be under any solicitude for the repose of the youthful Queen so rudely disturbed by the patriotic bearing and military fame of General CASS; the indications on this floor from so many gentlemen that with them "discretion is the better part of valor," will effectually allay any apprehensions she may have indulged. The gentleman has so little regard to our rights in Oregon, and to our claim to that territory, that he says he would not give the paper on which the deed could be written for the "whole of Oregon" to-morrow—and why? It is too far off; we don't want it; it is not worth a fig. Sir, was this the language of our Revolutionary sires when they resolved to resist the power of Great Britain? Was it the language of the American people at the purchase of Louisiana? Did they then say, this territory is too far away—we don't want it—it is not worth a fig? He says it will take some six or eight, or ten months, to go to Oregon by sea; but I am told that we can go the whole distance of fifteen thousan[illegible]s in four months; while England has to go [illegible] twenty thousand; and we can make the land journey of three thousand miles from New York in three months.

One word as to the language used by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. WINTHROP] —not the venerable ex-President. There is a material difference in the opinions of the two gentlemen. This gentleman [a laugh] said that, on the whole, it was a little doubtful as to title, but he thought that, of the two, we had the better title. But then, he asks, are we going to turn savages, and fight Great Britain for such a strip of territory? In his regular-built speech he does not say savages, but brutes. Are we going to turn brutes, and use mere brute force to support our title? This may sound well from the representative of the city, in which it was resolved that it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the victories achieved by our gallant tars over the boasting "mistress of the seas," and from the portion of the Union that held out blue-lights to guide the fleets of the enemy; but it does not sound very well to an American ear, and is not very palatable to an American heart. He says, if we fight for Oregon, it will be a contest of mere brute force. I ask him, if Oregon is ours, and it shall come eventually to the last resort of sover[illegible] whether he would not employ "brute f[illegible] maintain the rights of his country? Ou[illegible] employed "brute force" in a question [illegible] out of a trifling tax upon a few pounds [illegible] and that, too, in Boston, the gentlema[illegible] cradle of liberty.

The Representative of the Charleston [illegible] [Mr. HOLMES] acknowledges that *he is* [illegible] and he asks us if we went out with a rif[illegible] cue a stray sheep from the fangs of a w[illegible] when we reached the spot, found our [illegible] the jaws of the lion, whether we would [illegible] afraid too, and go back and get eight o[illegible] fles more? I would meet the figure use[illegible] gentleman, by saying that our object is to [illegible] the lion from getting hold of our "shee[illegible] the gentleman from Charleston is not w[illegible] loan us his rifle, and that South Carolina [illegible] just what I want in this contest. It w[illegible] tive in 1776, in 1812, and why should i[illegible] in 1846? The gentleman from Virgin[illegible] PENDLETON] endorses the declaration, in [illegible] Representative of the Charleston dist[illegible] says he too is afraid. Well, sir, I ask [illegible] created this sudden panic? I remem[illegible] once a British army invaded this Distr[illegible] consumed this capitol with fire. The gr[illegible] from Virginia was then, probably, play[illegible] sporting on the green lawn; or, schoolboading was "bobbing" his pinhook, in hope o[illegible] ing a "minnow" in the babbling brook. [illegible] he heard the booming of the distant can[illegible] beheld afar off the rimy smoke that mar[illegible] barbarian triumph of the invading incen[illegible] nay, was probably within hearing of th[illegible] of the British drum, the mere thought [illegible] now strikes terror to his heart. One mi[illegible] imagined that the recollection of a flami[illegible] tol, and the insolent triumphs of the roy[illegible] midons, would have enkindled the fire o[illegible] tic indignation, and awakened an arden[illegible] for an opportunity of avenging ourselv[illegible] the aggressor, and wiping out in his b[illegible] memory of his atrocities and his insolen[illegible] the ghost of former days rises but in te[illegible] dread to the gentleman, and he frankly [illegible] ledges that he is afraid. In making suc[illegible] fession, I feel very sure he does injusti[illegible] Virginia: such cannot be her sentime[illegible] never!

But these over cautious gentlemen [illegible] urgent in their efforts to infect others [illegible] fears. If we but shake our hand at Old E[illegible] we are reproached with gasconading. [illegible] told of her power, her resources, what [illegible] done, what she can do, and what she [illegible] do. But I beg of gentlemen, if they [illegible] willing to go for this notice, to cease u[illegible] ing and depreciating the ability and the [illegible] ness of the American people to defend t[illegible] or and their interests, when assailed f[illegible] quarter, however powerful. Mr. CLAY, [illegible] when addressed by the submissionists w[illegible]

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ments, exclaimed, "Cease to proclaim
he arms and the power of Great Britain!"
unction would apply with equal pertina-
force in 1846.

how humiliating must it be to an Ameri-
a foreign land, when he reads of the glory,
wer, and the invincibility of the British
heralded by members of an American
as an argument to deter it from assert-
National rights and honor. How, I ask,
uch declarations of our inability to defend
rights, and cope with an enemy that our
ors successfully grappled with in infancy
we had a distinct nationality, fall upon
s of those veterans of the Revolution, who
er amongst us? Will they not be rea-
conclude, and with reason, that this is
a degenerate age, when the roll of the Bri-
rums, that only directed them with hearts
el to the enemy, is heard by their offspring,
the lapse of half a century, with "fear!"
National rights, in declaring to the world
the hearts of the American people there
ll burning brightly the fires of '76, we are
almost said with a sneer—
"war gentlemen;" we are charged with
sconading;" yes, gasconading! If it be
sconading, let us, for the honor of our Revo-
nary sires, gasconade on the side of our own
country. Truly there has been gascon-
even to the rattling of England's morning
producing that sensation which, I trust
od, will never be felt by but one Virginian;
felt, never again expressed in the halls of
merican Congress. I ask, can the senti-
of the gentleman be the sentiments of the
Dominion?" (Here Gen. ATCHISON, half
said, No, never; and God forbid it ever
ld.)

the gentleman says we must negotiate.
ourselves, sir, we have done it; we have been ne-
for nearly thirty years, and we are now
where we were in 1819. But, again, we
rise but in terms we must settle this long pending ques-
and he frankly says by arbitration. And who are we to select
In making such the arbitrator? Russia? She is a member
he does injustice the Holy Alliance. Austria? She is also a
be her sentiments member. Prussia? She likewise, is a member
the holy fraternity of despots. France? She,
gh not nominally, is also in feeling and prin-
to infect others with them. And why not submit the ques-
between us and Great Britain to the arbitra-
of any of these powers? Because the end
object of the Holy Alliance is to check the
ance of Republican principles throughout the
ld. And the feelings of the French Govern-
towards us and Republican principles, is
y well indicated by her recent conduct in
s, and her present wanton and unprovoked
k, in conjunction with England, upon the
tine Republic. Russia has been thought
some as likely to be an impartial umpire,
here would be special reasons for her lean-
on this question, to the side of Great Bri-

If the Wolverines, the Hoosiers, the Suck-
ers, and the Buckeyes should settle in the prox-
imity of 54° 40′, going to a man for Democratic
principles, (as they used to sing "a Democratic
wife or none at all") his Russian Majesty might
not like such people for near neighbors, but would
infinitely prefer the British. I would trust none
of these monarchs for referees. But my friend
from Virginia is in favor of "a masterly inacti-
vity." I am really at some loss to know what a
"masterly inactivity" is. I am told by some
gentlemen it is "the American multiplication
table." The gentleman said that Mr. Polk and
Mr. Buchanan never calculated on success by
this rule, for Victoria and Peel were ———.
The gentleman ought to have recollected that he
too does not seem very well to understand the
rule of subtraction, for he, like myself, has not
practically learned that one from two make three.
(A laugh.)

My friend from the Tenth Legion [Mr. BED-
INGER,] says he is for a masterly inactivity: we
must lie low; we must "bide our time." Wait
a little, says the prudent gentleman—wait a little
while—John Bull is getting to be an old man,
and you will soon be strong enough to cope with
him, and get him down. I really did not expect
such an exhibition of Virginia chivalry. Do your
bullies in Virginia wait till their adversaries get
old and feeble, and then fall aboard of them.—
This is a "masterly inactivity," indeed! Wait
till John Bull is old and decrepid, and then you
can get him on his back, and gouge him at plea-
sure! This is Virginia chivalry! This, then,
is "masterly inactivity!"

But the gentleman explained himself. He
gave us a graphic sketch of the American eagle,
and held him up as an example for our imitation,
in our course about Oregon. And what was this
imperial bird, after all? A foolish fowl (if it
was an eagle, it must have been a very young
one,) that took his seat on a tall rock at Harper's
Ferry, because he was afraid of a cloud that after-
wards passed by without a drop of rain. [A
laugh.] If this is the gentleman's "masterly in-
activity," I will have none of it. The gentleman
the other day said he was speaking without his
glasses, and could not discern the gentleman from
Ohio, on the other side of the hall. I would re-
spectfuily ask of him whether he was without
his glasses when he saw that cowardly bird.
[Laughter.] This Harper's Ferry eagle of his,
has been sitting on that rock, with his wings
folded in "masterly inactivity," for nearly thirty
years;—but I would say to him: let us give this
notice—let us break the fetters that have so long
paralyzed every movement of this noble bird,
and then, unencumbered, he can spread his ma-
jestic pinions to every breath of heaven—his
flight will be upward and onward, breasting any
and every storm—facing the eye of day, until
his glorious form shall be lost in the dazzling
empyrean.

We are told that there will be a war. Per-
haps you may be able to convince us that there
will be a war; but this should not deter us from
asserting our rights. The gentleman says we

will get whipped in the fight, and asks—what! do you not fear? I do fear; but not the British lion—his paw has no terrors for me. I fear to refuse to speak, lest I should offer insult to the thousands of freemen who, at the ballot box, said to me, "go and give this notice to Great Britain. Oregon is ours; and if war grows out of it, we are ready for the contest." For myself, I have no fears of the conflict. True, it has not been my lot to mingle in the strife of actual war, but I have been familiar, since childhood, with the recital of the horrors of Indian atrocities—of the terrific war-whoop and I have also witnessed the effect of the death-dealing rifle of the West. But I do fear, if we do not give this notice, and follow it up by additional measures, England, by our tardiness, will get possession of fair and fertile Oregon. Fear! No; we were but in our infancy as a nation—when we had but three millions of people—and we caught the British lion by his shaggy beard, and made the dew-drops fall from his mane thicker than a summer shower. And are we to fear him now, when we have twenty millions, and means of offence and defence in proportion? What did we do in 1812? We repeated the rough embrace of '76, and sent him howling to his den. And now, for one, I say, if he will fight us again, sooner than surrender the prey he has got his claws upon, let the contest come.

But it has been said here that Kentucky and Tennessee are far in the interior, and that even the sound of the battle will not reach us. True, our States are not on the frontier; but I ask, if in the hour of peril and conflict, their hardy sons have not been found, wherever danger pressed their country's arms? Were they not at New Orleans? and upon what battle field on our Northern frontier do not their bones whiten in the sun? They were ever ready for the warlike strife, and never more so than at the present moment, should their country demand their services. Fear! No, before they would submit to that haughty and domineering power, which seeks to bow the entire globe to her sceptre, they will cheerfully hazard all the dangers of the fight. But we are told we have no navy—no army—no cannon—no muskets—no munitions—no generals. We have generals in Tennessee; and if we had none, by the grace of God, we would raise Gen. Jackson's "cocked hat upon a hickory pole," with the epaulettes he wore at New Orleans, and its effect would be more magical than the standard of the Prophet of Mecca. Fifty thousand brave Tennesseeans would rally at the sight, and arm themselves for the battle. I am very sure the gallant gentleman from Alabama, [Gen. McConnell] and the valiant gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. Sims] would soon be upon the muster ground struggling for the pole, (much laughter.)

I had much more to say, but I perceive my time is rapidly running out. There is one thing in which I rejoice: I have seen throughout this entire debate that there is a fixed determination on all sides of the Committee, not to make this a party question. It is truly a national I cannot, and I will not, consent that it made a party question. It is strictly phatically a National question, involv rights, the interest, and the honor of th True, I have heard this stoutly denie has been gravely asked, how is our hon cated? where have the British ever ins flag? But are gentlemen not aware th tion may be insulted without having its fl pled upon? I would say there is a que which our honor as a nation was compr and it is a burning, "murky" shame, Government has rested tamely so long u I allude to the burning of the Caroline an American vessel was seized on Ameri set on fire, cast off into the stream, and p ted over the Falls of Niagara, with Ameri zens enveloped in the flames of the doom sel. This was a case in which the N honor was deeply involved, and which ha been atoned for. Did time permit, I coul to other instances.

I am thoroughly convinced that the tim soon arrive when a contest between us a British Government will become inevitable has long beheld, with jaundiced eyes, the strides of our glorious Republic to strengt greatness. We are her rival in the conte dominion on the ocean; we are her rival i civilization and letters; and more than all the representative and champion of free g ment, while she is the ally of the worn ou potisms of the old world. She never wil until she makes a mighty effort to prostrat Republic and arrest its onward march to ness. The mighty contest between liberty despotism must soon be fought, and knowing I am for preparing our country for the co

It is said we have no arms. But the o returns show that there are more than 60 in the country, and in Tennessee every boy his own rifle by the time he is sixteen. but we have no cannon. But a gentleman Pennsylvania [Mr. Thompson] has told us in two years, that State alone could cast en to supply the wants of the entire world. have men in abundance, and (pointing to galleries)—God bless them—we have the la with us. With our brave men, our noble h ed women, and God upon our side, I am sure shall triumph.

This is not the time for us to show any t like fear of Old England. I confess, for that if we are to have a fight, she is the power, above all others, with which I would h a contest. We have been told that we are bl of her blood, that we have a common ances common laws, and common language. But t is a powerless argument. No enemies are bitter as estranged friends. The union betw the two countries was severed by the tyranni oppressions of our unnatural parent; it is s dered forever; and I think of her now only w hatred for all the wrongs she has done my count

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